

# The PROTESTANT Martyrs: OR, THE **Bloody Assizes,**

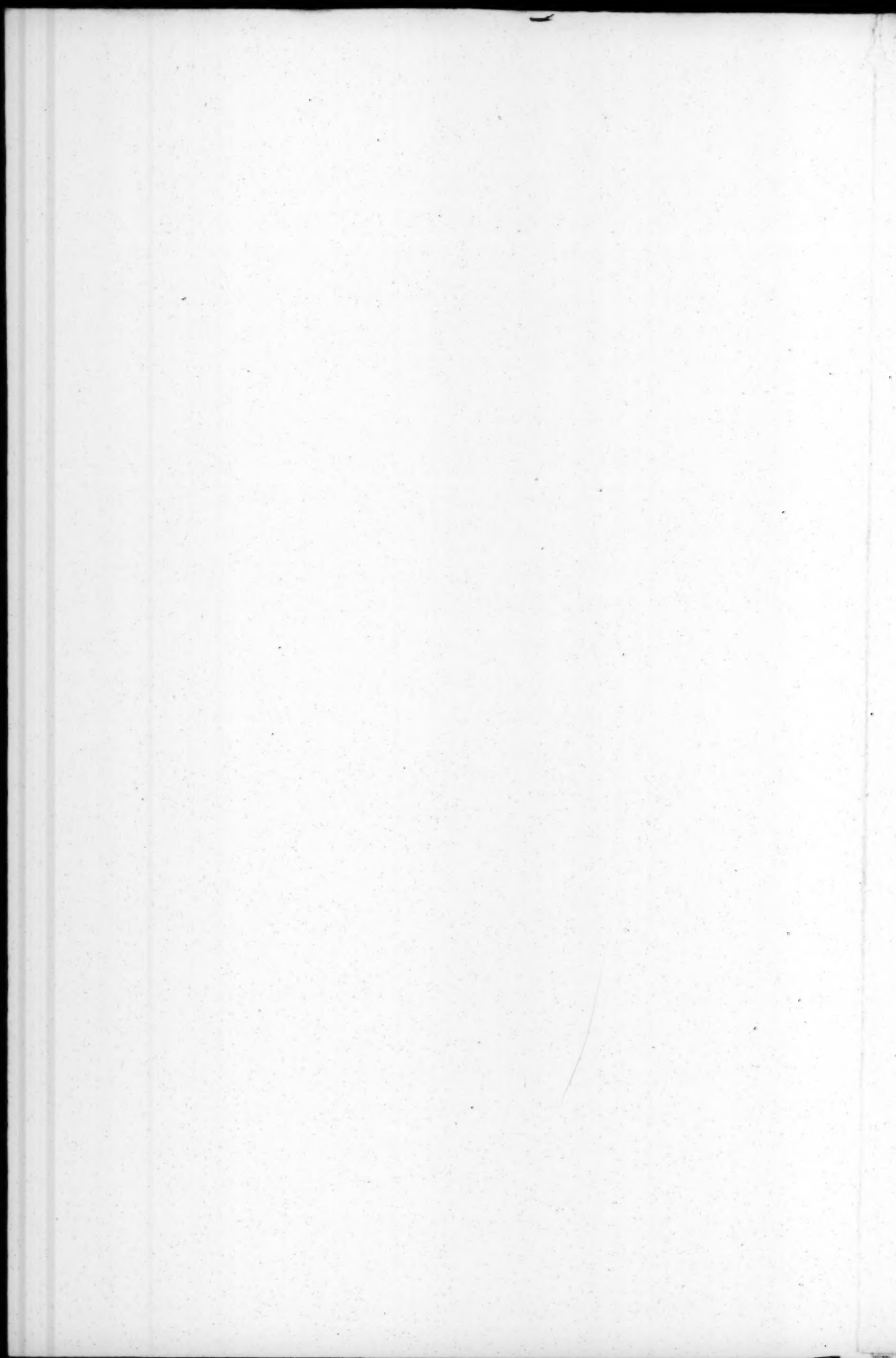
Giving an Account of the *Lives, Tryals, and Dying Speeches*, of all those Eminent *Protestants* that suffered in the *West of England*, by the Sentence of that Bloody and cruel Judge *Jefferies*; being in all 251 Persons, besides what were Hang'd and destroy'd in cold Blood.

CONTAINING ALSO,

The Life and Death of *James Duke of Monmouth*; His Birth and Education; his Actions both at Home and Abroad; his Unfortunate Adventure in the *West*; his Letter to King *James*; his Sentence, Execution and Dying-Words upon the Scaffold: With a true Copy of the Paper he left behind him. And many other curious Remarks worth the Reader's Observation.



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# The Protestant Martyr, Or, The Bloody Assizes, &c.



**T**HE most Illustrious Prince *James Duke of Monmouth* is not, for the Illustriousness of his Descent, inferiour unto any Prince in *Europe*, being descended from the Loins of the most Renowned Monarch, King *Charles the Second*; and also his Eldest Son: By which Royal Extraction he is descended from the incomparably wise and vertuous Prince, the Royal Martyr *Charles the first* and his Illustrious Consort *Henrietta Maria de Bourbon* Daughter of the Great King *Henry the Fourth of France*: From which two ancient and Illustrious stocks, he was ingrafted into all the Royal Families of *Europe*, and hath concentred in his Princely Veins some of their Royal Blood; being thereby allied to all those great Personages that are of the most high and Illustrious Quality in *Europe*; viz. *James Duke of York*, *William of Nassau Prince of Orange*, the Lady *Mademoiselle Queen of Spain*, and her Sister *Madame de Valois*, Daughter of the Duke of *Oleance*, and the late Princess *Henrietta*; also to *Charles Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine*: His Highness *Rupert*, *Lewis the fourteenth King of France*, now reigning; and many other Princes and Potentates of *Europe*; which is abundantly sufficient to demonstrate the Nobility of his Birth, and the Illustriousness of his Extraction. But to render him yet more Eminent, it pleased his Royal Father to dignifie him with severel Magnificent Titles, and to confer upon him the severel Great Offices following, viz. Duke of *Monmouth* and *Bucclugh*, Earl of *Doucafter* and *Dalkeith*. Lord *Scott of Tindale*, *Whinchester* and *Asdale*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding of *Yorkshire*, Governour of his Majesties Town and Cittadel of *Kingsstone upon Hull*, Chief Justice in *Eyre*, of all his Majesties Forrefts, Chaces, Parks and Warrens on the South-side of the River of *Trent*. Lord General of all his Majesties Land-forces, Captain of his Majesties Life-Guards of Horse, Chancellor of the Univerlity of *Cambridge*, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, one of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. All which Places he discharged with so much Honour and Fidelity, that the most inveterate and implacable of his Enemies notwithstanding all their noise and clamour against him, were not able to produce one single instance wherein he acted otherwise. Besides his honour at home, he had likewise been highly honoured abroad, by having the Honour to command an Army in *Flanders* as Lieutenant-General under the French King, whose continual success and numerous Victories in *Flanders* may be chiefly attributed to the Conduct and Valour of the Great *Monmouth*. He was born at *Rotterdam*, April 9. in the year 1649. in the very heat of our unnatural Broils. About the year 1656. his Mother was sent a Prisoner to the Tower of *London*, as appears by a Warrant from the Protector, July 12. 1656. to *Barkstead*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, whereby he discharged Mrs. *Lucy Barlow* from her Imprisonment. The Officers found a Grant when she was apprehended, signed *Charles R.* by which she had an Annuity or yearly Peniod of five thousand Livres granted

to her for her Life, with an Assurance to better the same when it should please God to restore him to his Kingdom, and it was subscribed by his Majesties command *Edward Nicholas*. During her abode about *London*, the Cavilears as the Loyalists were then call'd, carried themselves towards her with a profound Reverence and awful Respect, treating her as a sacred Person serving her on the Knee. An *English* Nurse was provided for him, and both for privacy, Lodged at the House of *Mr. Claes Ghyssen* a Merchant living at *Schiedam* about a Mile from *Rotterdam*, his Mother lodging at the same time at the House of *Mrs. Harvey*, Mother to the famous *Doctor Harvey*, and lived in abundance of Pomp and Splendor, having a Gentleman and other Servants to attend her. Some time after he had been there at Nurse, his Mother being desirous to see him, took her Gentleman with her, who at a place where she called by the Way to pay a Visit, desired to be excused for some small time, from attending on her, till he had dispatched some extraordinary Business which he pretended, promising to return again immediately, and having obtained her Permission, away he went; but like an ungrateful and treacherous Villain, repaired immediately to *Mr. Ghyssens* at *Schiedam*, where the Princely Babe was nursed, and pretending to be sent for that purpose to his Mother, carried him and the Nurse both away. His Lady waited his coming with abundance of patience, but at length Night drawing on, and no Gentleman appearing, she began to suspect her self to be abused, whereupon a Gentleman offering to wait on her thither, she presently posted away, and being arrived, and finding her Son gone, I want Words wherewith to express her grief, and surprize; she rent her Apparel, tore the Hair from off her Head, and with whole showers of Tears bewailed the greatness of her Loss, and the deplorableness of her Condition, yet suffered not Grief to prevail so far, as to make her incapable of endeavouring to Right her self, whereupon she presently gave order for the providing Horses, which being ready, she presently posted away to *Maesland-Slucce*, riding all Night, she suspected that he was carried thither, in order to be transported to *England*, there having been some inquiry made after him, she arrived there early in the Morning, just as the *Sieur Newport*, one of the Lords of the State, and the *Maesland* were taking Boat for the *Hague*, those that were with her, advised her to make her Application to him as the likeliest Person to assist her, telling her that he could *English*, whereupon she addressed her self to him in that Language, discovering to him the Condition of her self and Son, and the Relation they stood in to the King of *England*; with the Circumstances of his stealing away, and pulling out a handful of Gold, *If Money will do it, said she, I will spare for no Charges*; imploring his help and assistance for the recovery of that Royal Treasure; this occasioned abundance of People flocking about them to learn the occasion of her Address, wherefore he advised her to go into some House and make no noise about it, lest she thereby prevent the accomplishing her desire, which she did, and he presently ordered a general search to be made, and that no Ships should go off till they were searched, notwithstanding which they could make no discovery of him till about 10 or 12 days after, when he was found at *Loosdymen*, where he had been all that time concealed, and having to her inexpressible Joy recovered him, she took a stately House at *Bojcal*, where they resided for some time.

Upon his Majesties going for *Scotland*, in *June 1650*: he was committed by his Majesty to the care of his Illustrious Grandmother, who lived then

at the *Par-le-Roy* in *Paris*, and was by her committed to the care of one *Goff* belonging to her Majesty, charging him to provide a good careful Nurse for him, which he did accordingly, commending to her Majesty one Mrs. *Miles*, a Gentlewoman that belonged likewise to her Majesty.

The Beauty and Make of his Person, and the Majesty of his Port and Ceremony, even whilst an Infant, plainly discover'd the Greatness of his Birth, and the largeness of his Soul, and every succeeding Year of his Childhood, and afforded new Promises and Hopes that he would prove an Illustrious Branch of growing Honour; making an Early Discovery even at that tender Age, not only of a Great and Princely Spirit, but also of an extraordinary Goodness and Sweetness of Nature, seeming to have that even and well-biassed Temper of Mind radicated in his very Nature, which other Men with extraordinary Industry and help of Philosophy and Religion hardly acquire, when arrived at Years of Maturity.

Nor were his Inclinations to Vertue more admirable than the desire he had to learn useful and solid Arts, his *Genius* rendering the Study and Exercises thereof, far more acceptable to him, than the Vanity of the most exquisite Divertissements. Wherefore when he was about 8 or 9 Years of Age, he was taken from *Goff*, and committed to the Care of Mr. *Ross*, a Gentleman, who after His Majesty's Restauration, went Secretary to the Honourable *Henry Coventry* Esquire, (in his Embassy to *Sweden*) and sent to *Fulda*, a Place about 7 Leagues from *Paris*, there to be accommodated with Learning, and fitted for those great Employments which God and Nature as well as His Majesty had designed him for, in the future part of his Life. He went there by the Name of Mr. *Croftis*.

Soon after His Majesty's happy Restauration, he commanded Mr. *Ross* to turn away all his former Servants, and entertain new ones more suitable to his Quality; and to demonstrate his Paternal Love, and to render his own Happiness the more compleat, ordered him to be brought to Court, that so he might always have him in his Royal Presence; whereupon he was provided with Gentlemen and Pages to wait on him, together with a rich Coach and stately Horses, a Coach-man, Postillion, Groom, and Foot-men in good Livries, wherewith he set forward towards *England*.

About *July*, 1662. he came to *Calis*, where he embarked for *England*; he Landed at *Dover* from whence he came by Land to *London*, and not finding his Majesty there, he presently repaired to *Hampton-Court*, where His Majesty then resid'd, by whom he was received and imbraced with all the Demonstrations of Joy imaginable; and about the middle of *August*, he came with the Court to *White-Hall*, where His Majesty was pleas'd to appoint him his Lodgings in the Privy Gallery.

Soon after His Majesty was pleas'd to make him a Peer of this Realm, by Creating him Duke of *Arkeny*, which Title was after changed for that of *Monmouth*; and the Cap and Robes being presented to him, in the ensuing Parliament he took his Seat in the House of Peers.

In *April*, 1663. he was with the usual Solemnity installed Knight of the Garter at *Windzor*.

This was followed by that which made his Happiness yet more full and compleat, His Majesty being pleas'd to consent to a Contract of Marriage between his Grace and the only surviving Child, and sole Heir of the late Earl of *Buckingham*, a Lady repur'd to be the greatest Fortune, and to have the largest Dowery in the Three Kingdoms, her incomparable Vertues, and surprising Beauty, being no way inferior to (but rather exceeding) her Portion; her

her Mother, the Countess of *Wembs*, being consulted about the Match, having received satisfaction from His Majesty in whatsoever the proposed, she willingly gave her Consent, and the Marriage was speedily Celebrated with extraordinary Pomp and Splendor, to the great Content of His Majesty, the Queen's Mother, and the whole Court.

Soon after this, upon the Resignation of the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, his Father King *Charles*, created him Captain of his Life-Guard, and admitted one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council. In the Year 1672. the French King *Lewis XIVth.* made great Preparations for a War against the *Dutch*, in which King *Charles* engaging, the Duke was sent to Command the *English*, whose Gallantry and Bravery was sufficiently admir'd by all present, where was the French King himself. He was attended by a numerous Train of *English* Volunteer Gentlemen. With this vast Army the French sat down before *Ostoy* and *Rhinberg*, which presently surrender'd: From thence they march'd to *Wesel*, accounted an Invincible City, which after 4 Days Siege was deliver'd up; also *Duysburg* surrender'd, without venturing the Brunt of a Storm. This Success of the French so terrify'd the *Hollanders*, that they abandon'd their Towns as fast as the Enemy approach'd to take Possession of them; nay, and of some they invite them to be Masters; for the City *Utrecht*, with the whole Province, in which were Nine Fine Cities besides *Utrecht* itself, receiv'd a French Garrison: *Zuiphen* and *Arnhem* follow'd the same Fate; and such a rapid Progress was made by the Arms of France, that by the 28th of *June*, they were advanc'd within 4 Leagues of *Rotterdam*, and the same distance from *Amsterdam*. Never was any State nearer Ruin than that of *Holland* at this time; and where the Policy of *England* could be to assist them in such an Expedition, has I believe been dearly experienc'd since; for it was no small Assistance they receiv'd from the Succours under the D. of *Monmouth*, which will more particularly appear in another Campaign; for this being ended, the Duke took his Leave of the French King, who highly exo'ld his Conduct and Personal Bravery, and passing through *Flanders*, arriv'd safely in *England*, and was joyfully receiv'd, especially at Court; but he was in solemn manner welcom'd home by his Dutchess, who was soon after, *August* 26<sup>th</sup>. happily brought to Bed of a Son, which was Christened *Charles*, and died soon after.

About *November* following, having taken Leave of the King, he set out again for France, where he was received in a very splendid manner by the French King and the Nobility; and being arriv'd at *Calais*, Dec. 18<sup>th</sup>. he sent an Express to his Majesty, to acquaint him that the Prince of *Orange* was on the 15<sup>th</sup> sat down with his Army before *Chareroy*, and that there was great Expectation in these Parts, what would be the Issue of that Enterprize.

The Duke was highly welcom'd in all the Places through which he pass'd, and return'd to *England* again before the opening of the Campaign; at what time he attended the King of France into the Field, and is remarkably distinguish'd in History for his Conduct and Valour at the Siege of *Maestrich*, and came into *England* afterward with great Applause. But the next Year the Scale turn'd, and the Duke (as General of his Father's Forces) commanded against the French in Conjunction with the Dutch, always believing himself with singular Conduct and Personal Bravery. What happen'd otherwise concerning him, is hardly Material. He grew into Love and Favour with the People, which appear'd in the Business of the *Walisca* Race, for which he was taken into Custody; he was also Banish'd; but we shall pass over all these things, and come nearer to the Design in hand, which is the Business of the *West*, in which we shall com. rehend his Death.



King *James II.* being ascended the Throne, and the Duke of *Monmouth* then abroad, and being sufficiently stunn'd with the unexpected News of the Death of King *Charles*, having enter'd into a League with the Earl of *Argyle*, putting great Confidence in his own Courage, and a vain Assurance of a Popular Affection and Assistance, bore up himself against all pretended Difficulties, and with three small Ships, and between Threescore and Fourscore Men, landed about the 12th of *June* at *Lyme* in the *West* of *England*, while the Parliament was sitting: A *Romansick* kind of *Invasion*, and scarce parallel'd in History; yet with this handful of Men, and afterward with the common People that join'd him, without Arms, Provisions, Martial Discipline, Money, or any one place to retire to in case of Accidents, did this Brave unfortunate Man bid fair for a Crown. He landed, as was said before, at *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, where he increas'd his Number to One hundred and Fifty, from thence he march'd to *Taunton*, where he was Proclaim'd King, and Men flock'd to him, and Lifted under him as fast, as if he had already been Master of the whole Country. After staying there a while, he marched in some kind of Order to *Bridgwater*, still increasing his Numbers; from thence to *Rush*, where he was denied Entrance, the Train'd-Bands still flying two Days March before him, by Order from the Court, to give preence to the King to raise more Forces. At *Philips Norton*, by a Surprize or Ambush, he cut off the best part of a Troop of Horse, the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly escaping with his Life. With this Success he marched within 2 Miles of *Bristol*, where a Consult being held, he was advis'd not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridgwater*; which was the first thing that dishearten'd his Party, and hinder'd many from joining with him: Whereas if he had enter'd *Bristol*, where there was no Force to oppose him but the Train'd-Bands, and the generality of them for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Discourses and drinking his Health, he might have furnish'd himself with Men, Arms and Money, to have enabl'd him to march into *Gloucestershire* among the Clothiers, where great Numbers, and some of Quality, waited to join him, and by this means might have kept up the War till he had shak'd King *James's* Throne, if not overturn'd it.

In this time the King had sent an Army into the *West* against *Monmouth*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverham* as General, who incamp'd upon *Sedmore*, not far from *Bridgwater*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party were Quarter'd; and the Duke seeing his Men daily Desert in great Numbers, it was agreed to make one Push for all, and to that purpose issu'd out of *Bridgwater* by Night; but his Guide mistaking his way in the Dark, the Duke's ill Fate lead him upon a Battallion of *Dumbarton's* Regiment plac'd in his way; who encountering him, alarm'd King *James's* whole Army, with whom engaging he was Routed; or in all probability he had surpriz'd the King's Army in their Camp, and perhaps at that single Blow decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet however, tho' he came too soon, before Matters were Ripe, by King *James's* setting up for the open Establishment of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, yet he may be said to have pav'd the Way for a Nobler Change in the Throne, by leaving King *James* at Liberty through this success, to act without Controul, which at length made him Abdicate the Government. *Monmouth* paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood, being on the 15th of *July*, 1685. Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, by vertue of an *Attainder* pass'd upon him in Parliament soon after his Landing.

*An Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, on Wednesday the 15th. of July, 1685. on Tower-Hill.*

THE Duke of Monmouth came from the Tower to the Scaffold, attended by the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Tenison, and Dr. Hooper; which four the King seat him, as his Assistants, to prepare him for Death: The Duke himself entreated all four of them to accompany him to the Place of Execution, and to continue with him to the last. The two Bishops going in the Lieutenant's Coach with him to the Bars, made Seasonable and Devout Applications to him all the way; and one of them desired him not to be surprized, if they to the very last upon the Scaffold, renewed those Exhortations to a particular Repentance, which they had so often repeated before.

At his first coming upon the Scaffold, he looked for the Executioner; and seeing him, said, Is this the Man to do the Business? Do your Work well.

Then the Duke of Monmouth began to speak, some one or other of the Assistants during the whole time, applying themselves to him.

*Monmouth.* I shall say but very little; I come to die; I die a Protestant of the Church of England.

*Assistants.* My Lord, if you be of the Church of England, you must acknowledge the Doctrine of Non-Resistance to be true.

*Mon.* If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of England in general, that includes all.

*Assist.* Sir, it is fit to own that Doctrine particularly, which respects your Case.

Here he was much urged about that Doctrine of Non-resistance; but he repeated in effect his first Answer. Then he began as if he was about to make a premeditated Speech, in this manner.

*Mon.* I have had a Scandal raised upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Virtue and Honour. I will name her; the Lady Henrietta Wentworth. I declare, That she is a very Vertuous and Godly Woman. I have committed no Sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us, was very Honest and Innocent in the sight of God.

*Assist.* In your Opinion, perhaps, Sir, as you have been often told; (i. e. in the Tower) but this is not fit Discourse in this Place.

*Mr. Sheriff Gostlin.* Sir, were you ever Married to her?

*Mon.* This is not a time to Answer that Question.

*Sher. Gostlin.* Sir, I hoped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treason and Bloodshed which hath been committed.

*Mon.* I die very Penitent.

*Assist.* My Lord, it is fit to be particular; and considering the Publick Evil you have done, you ought to do as much Good now as possibly you can, by a Publick Acknowledgment.

*Mon.* What I have thought fit to say of Publick Affairs, is in a Paper which I have Signed; I refer to my Paper.

*Assist.* My Lord, there is nothing in that Paper about Resistance; and you ought to be particular in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you True Repentance.

*Mon.* I die very Penitent, and die with great Chearfulness, for I know I shall go to God.

*Assf.* My Lord, you must go to God in his own way. Sir, be sure you be truly Penitent, and ask Forgiveness of God, for the many you have wronged.

*Mon.* I am sorry for every one I have wronged, I forgive every Body ; I have had many Enemies, I forgive them all. *Assf.* Sir, your Acknowledgment ought to be particular.

*Mon.* I am to die ; pray, my Lord—I refer to my Paper. *Assf.* They are but a few Words that we desire : We only desire an Answer to this Point.

*Mon.* I can Bless God, that he hath given me so much Grace, that for these two Years last past, I have had a Life unlike to my former Course, and in which I have been happy.

*Assf.* Sir, was there no Ill in these two Years ? In these Years, these great Evils have happened ; and the giving Publick Satisfaction is a necessary part of Repentance ; be pleased to own a Detestation of your REBELLION.

*Mon.* I beg your Lordship that you would stick to my Paper. *Assf.* My Lord, as I said before, there is nothing in your Paper about the Doctrine of Non-resistance, *Mon.* I Repent of all things that a true Christian ought to Repent of. I am to die ; pray, my Lord—*Assf.* Then, my Lord, we can only recommend you to the Mercy of God ; but we cannot Pray with that Cheerfulness and Encouragement, as we should if you had made a particular Acknowledgment.

*Mon.* God be praised, I have Encouragement enough in my self ; I die with a clear Conscience, I have wronged no Man. *Assf.* How, Sir, no Man ! Have you not been Guilty of *Invasion*, and of much Blood, which hath been shed, and it may be, of the Loss of many Souls that followed you ? You must needs have wronged a great many. *Mon.* I do, Sir, own that, and am sorry for it. *Assf.* Give it the true Name, Sir, and call it *Rebellion*.

*Mon.* What Name you please, Sir ; I am sorry for Invading the Kingdom, and for the Blood that has been shed, and for the Souls which may have been lost by my means ; I am sorry it ever happened. *Mr. Sher. Vandeput.* He says, he is sorry for *Invading the Kingdom*.

*Assf.* We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give some Satisfaction for the Publick *Injuries* to the Kingdom. There have been a great many Lives lost by this Resistance of your *Lawful Prince*.

*Mon.* What I have done, has been very ill ; and I wish with all my Heart it had never been : I never was a Man that delighted in Blood ; I was very far from it ; I was as cautious in this as any man was ; the Almighty God knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulness in the World. *Assf.* God grant you may, Sir ; God give you true Repentance. *Mon.* If I had not True Repentance, I should not so easily have been without the fear of Dying ; I shall die like a Lamb. *Assf.* Much may come from Natural Courage. *Mon.* I do not attribute it to my own Nature, for I am fearful as other Men are ; but I have now no fear, as you may see by my Face ; but there is something within me that does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

*Assf.* My Lord, be sure upon good Grounds ; do you Repent you of all your Sins, known, or unknown ; confessed, or not confessed ; of all the Sins which might proceed from Error in Judgment ?

*Mon.* In general for all, I do with all my Soul. *Assf.* God Almighty of his Infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great Numbers of Spectators, here are the Sheriffs, they represent the Great City, and in speaking to them, you speak to the Great City ; make some Satisfaction by owning your Crime before them.—He was exhorted to Pray for the King, and was asked, whether



whether he did not desire to send some Dutiful Message to His Majesty, and to recommend his Wife and Children to His Majesty's Favour.

*Mon.* What harm have they done? Do it if you please: I pray for him, and for all Men.

*Ass.* ( At his Undressing ) My Lord, you have been bred a Soldier; you will do a generous Christian thing, if you please to speak to the Soldiers, and say, That here you stand a sad Example of Rebellion, and enreat them and the People to be Loyal and Obedient to the King.

*Mon.* I have said, I will make no Speeches; I will make no Speeches; I am come to die.

*Ass.* My Lord, Ten Words will be enough. *M.* ( Then calling his Servant, and giving him something like a Tooth-pick Case ) Here, said he, give this to the Person to whom you are to deliver the other things. ( To the Executioner : ) Here are six Guinea's for you; pray do your Business well: Don't serve me as you did my Lord *Russel*. I have heard, you struck him three or four times. Here ( to his Servant ) take these remaining Guinea's, and give them to him if he does his Work well.

*Exec.* I hope I shall.

*Mon.* If you strike me twice, I cannot promise you, not to stir.

During his Undressing, and standing towards the Block, were used divers Ejaculations, and much of the 51st Psalm, and particularly, *Deliver me from Blood-guiltiness, O God, Thou God, &c.* Then he lay down; and soon after he raised himself upon his Elbow, and said to the Executioner, Prithee let me feel the Ax. He felt the Edge, and said, I fear it is not sharp enough.

*Execut.* It is sharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he lay down again. During this space, many pious Ejaculations were used by those who assisted him, with great Fervency. *God accepts your Repentance, God accepts your Repentance, God accepts your imperfect Repentance; My Lord, God accept your Repentance; God Almighty shew his Omnipotent Mercy upon you: Easter, into thy Hands we commend his Spirit, &c. Lord Jesus receive his Soul.*

*A Brief Abstract of the Paper left behind him.*

I Repent in general of all my Sins, and am more particularly concern'd for what Blood hath been spilt on my Account, and the rather, seeing the Issue is such as I fear will prove of Fatal Consequence to the Reformed Protestant Religion. Instead of being counted Factions and Rebellious, the very opposing of Popery and Arbitrary Power, now arising and appearing plain enough, would sufficiently have protected my Cause; besides, several other most heinous and notorious Crimes ( such as the unhappy Fate of the Earl of *Essex*, and my Father of ever blessed Memory, and others now covered over with Jesuitical Policy ) should have been detected and avenged. I have lived, and shall now die in the faith of this, That God will work a *Deliverance for his People*; and then will be discovered the great, and horrid, and scarcely to be parallell'd Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of; but now you see my Cause is desperate, yet know, that I die a *Martyr for the People*, and shall rather pity the State, than their false and covetous Minds have brought the selves and me to, than discover who are the Persons concerned in my Overthrow; and I heartily forgive all that have wronged me, even those that have been Intriguer in my Fall, earnestly praying for their Souls. And I hope King *James* will shew himself to be of his Brother's Blood, and extend his Mercy to my Children, even as he was wont to his greatest Enemies, they being not capable to Act, and therefore not conscious of any Offence against the Government.

*A Copy of the Duke of Monmouth's LETTER to the King, Dated from Ringwood the 8th of July, 1684.*

YOUR Majesty may think, it is the Misfortune I now lie under, makes me make this Application to you; but I do assure your Majesty it is the Remorse I now have in me, of the Wrongs I have done you in several things, and now, in taking up Arms against you. For my taking up Arms, it never was in my Thoughts since the King died. The Prince and Princess of Orange will be Witnesses for me, of the Assurance I gave them, That I would never stir a gallop

gainst you ; but my Misfortune was such, as to meet with some Horrid People, that made me believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so many false Arguments, that I was fully led away, to believe, That it was a Shame and a Sin before God not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things that I could say for my self, that I am sure would move your Compassion ; the chief end of this Letter, being only to beg of you, That I may have that Happiness, as to speak to your Majesty : For I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy Reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the Zeal I have for your Preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this Letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your Majesty to believe to well of me, That I would rather die a thousand Deaths, than excuse any thing I have done, if I did not really think my self the most in the wrong, that ever any Man was, and had not from the bottom of my Heart an abhorrence for those that put him upon it, and for the Action it self. I hope, Sir, God Almighty will strike your Heart with Mercy and Compassion for me, as he has done mine with the Abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore I hope, Sir, I may live to shew you how Zealous I shall ever be for your Service ; and could I say but one Word in this Letter, you would be convinced of it ; but it is of that Consequence, That I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you once more, to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be Your Majesty's most Humble and Dutiful.

# MONMOUTH.

There was also a short Paper Printed at that time with his Speech, wherein he declares, That his Father had told him in his Life-time, that he was never Married to his Mother ; which he hop'd would be a means for King James to use his Children with the more tenderness. We shall now proceed to give an Account of the Persons that suffer'd for the same Cause, some of the more principal of which ( whose Effigies are hereunto affix'd ) 'tis thought worth the while to Treat distinctly of ; giving an Exact List of the other, and the Places where they suffer'd ; and First, of those remarkable Brothers, Mr. Benjamin, and Mr. William Hewling ; the Elder was a Captain of Horse, and the Younger a Lieutenant of Foot in the Duke of Monmouth's Service : They got on Ship-board after the Defeat at Sedgemoor, but were cast away on the Coast again, and so taken : The last, William, was Executed at Lyme, where just before he went to die, he said to one of his Fellow-Sufferers, *Here is a sweet Promise for us ; I will not leave you comfortless. I will come unto you. One taking Leave of him, he said, Farewell till we meet in Heaven ; presently I shall be with Christ, O ! I would not change Conditions with any that stay behind for ten thousand Worlds : Pray remember my Dear Love to my Brother and Sister, and tell them I desire they would comfort themselves that I am gone to Christ, and we shall quickly meet at the Glorious Mount above. Afterwards he Prayed for near half an Hour with great Fervency, Blessing God earnestly for the Blood of Jesus Christ, Praying for the Peace of the Church of God, and of these Nations in particular. When he was going out of the world, with a Joyful Countenance he said, *Oh ! now my Joy and Comfort is, that I leave a Christ to go to ;* and so gently resign'd his Spirit to God the 12th of Sept. 1685.*

As to the Elder Brother, when he had receiv'd the News of his Brother's Death, and that he died with so much Comfort and Joy, he replied, *We have no cause to fear Death, if the Presence of God be with us ;* and added, *Perhaps my Friends may think this Summer the saddest Time of my Life ; but, I Bless God, it has been the sweetest and most happy time of all. Speaking of the Disappointment of their Expectations in the Work they had undertaken, he said, With reverence to the Glory of God, the Prosperity of the Gospel, and the Delivery of the People of God, We have great cause to lament it, but for that outward Prosperity that have attended it, it's but of small Moment, and Death would have ended it. The Day of his Execution, with others, being come, it is remarkable that they sat in the Sledge near half an Hour before the Officers could make the Horses draw : at which they were greatly enrag'd, there being no visible Obstruction from either Weight or Way ; but at last the Mayor and Sheriffs haw'd them forward themselves, Balaam like, driving the Horses. Being come to the Place of Execution, and having embrac'd his Fellow-Sufferers, he desir'd of the Sheriff that he might Pray particularly, but he could not grant it ; only ask'd him, if he would Pray for the King ? He answer'd, *I Pray for all Men. He then desir'd he might sing a Psalm ;* but the Sheriff told him, it must be with the Halters about their Necks ; To which he replied, *With all his Heart ;* and then Sang with such Heavely Joy, that many present said, it both broke and rejoyc'd their Hearts. In the midst of which he clos'd his Eyes on a vain World Sept. 30th. 1685.*

The next was one William Jenkin, Condemn'd at the bloody Assize at Dorchester, Sept. the 29th, at Night. After he had heard he must die the next Day, he was exceedingly compos'd and cheerful, expressing his Satisfaction in the Will of God. He us'd many Excellent Speeches before, and at his Death : Among the rest he said, *This manner of Death hath been the most terrible thing in the World to my Thoughts, but I bless God, now am I neither afraid nor ashamed to die. When the Sheriff came to perform his Execution, he was still as Compos'd as ever,* and

and had the same Cheerfulness and Serenity of Mind in taking Leave of his Friends ; and likewise in the Sledge ; inasmuch that some of his Friends, who had before Censur'd him, thinking he had been unmindful of his Death, by being so Cheerful, now protest'd they were rather Astonish'd to see so young a Man leave the World, and go through Death as he did.

We come now to the most moving Scene of this horrid and barbarous Tragedy, in the Death of the Lady Lisle, above 80 Years of Age, for only Corresponding with one *Nelthrope*, and Dr. *Hicks* ; for which she was Beheaded at *Winchester*. Her Speech made at her Execution is as follows.

*The Last Speech of the Lady Alicia Lisle.*

Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my Death ; and in order thereunto, I shall acquaint you, That my Birth and Education was both near this Place, and that my Parents instructed me in the Fear of God, and I now die of the Reformed Protestant Religion ; That if ever Popery should return into this Nation, it would be a very great and severe Judgment ; That I die in Expectation of the Pardon of all my Sins, and of Acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed Righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believes : I thank G.d, through Jesus Christ, that I do depart unto the Blood of Sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel ; God having made this Chastisement an Ordinance to my Soul. I did once as little expect to come to this Place on this Occasion, as any Person in this Place, or Nation ; therefore let all learn not to be High-minded, but fear. The Lord is a Sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorify himself in, and by his poor Creatures ; and I do humbly desire to submit to his Will, praying to him, That I may possess my Soul in Patience. The Crime that was laid to my Charge, was for Entertaining a Nonconformist Minister and others in my House ; the said Minister being sworn to have been in the late Duke of Monmouth's Army ; but I have been told, That if I had desired them, it would not at all have offended me ; I have no Excuse but Surprise and Fear, which I believe my Jury must make use of to excuse their Verdict to the World. I have been also told, that the Court did use to be of Counsel for the Prisoner ; but instead of Advice, I had Evidence against me from thence ; which though it were only by Hear-say, might possibly affect my Jury ; my Defence being but such, as might be expected from a weak Woman ; but such as it was, I did not bear it repeated again to the Jury ; which, as I have been informed, is usual in such Cases. However, I forgive all the World, and therein all those that have done me wrong ; and in particular, I forgive Colonel Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken these Men before they came to my House. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the Grand Jury to the Petty Jury, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my Death. As to what may be objected in reference to my Conviction, that I gave it under my Hand, that I had Discouraged with Nelthrop ; that could be no Evidence against me, being after my Conviction and Sentence. I do acknowledge His Majesty's Favour, in Revoking my Sentence ; I pray God to preserve him, that he may long Reign in Mercy, as well as Justice, and that he may Reign in Peace ; and that the Protestant Religion may flourish under him. I also return Thanks to God and the Reverend Clergy, that assisted me in my Imprisonment.

A L I C I A L I S L E.

One Mrs. *Graunt* was the next that suffered in this Cause ; it was for harbouring one *Burton*, his Wife and Family, for which she was Sentenced to be Burnt, and was accordingly so Executed on the 23d of October, 1685. at which time she left her Murderers the following Memorial.

*Mrs. Graunt's Speech, written the Day before her Sufferings.*

NOT knowing whether I should be suffered or able, because of Weaknesses that are upon me through my hard and close Imprisonment, to speak at the Place of Execution ; I writ these few Lines to signify, That I am well reconciled to the Way of my God towards me, though it be in Ways I looked not for ; and by terrible Things, yet in Righteousness ; having given me Life, he ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he pleases to call for it ; and I desire to offer up my All to him, it being but my reasonable Service ; and also the first Terms that Jesus Christ offers, that he that will be his Disciple, must forsake all and follow him ; and therefore let none think hard, or be discouraged at what hath happened unto me ; for he doth nothing without Cause, in all he hath done to us, he being holy in all his Ways, and righteous in all his Works ; and 'tis but my Lot in common with poor desolate *Sion* at this Day. Neither do I find in my Heart the least Regret for what I have done in the Service of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in succouring and securing any of his poor Sufferers, that have shewed Favour in his righteous Cause : Which Cause, though now it be fallen and trampled upon, as if it had not been anointed, yet it shall revive, and God will plead it at another Rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all its Opposers and mali-

malicious Haters ; and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the least Duty that comes to Hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expects they shall serve him. And I desire to bless his holy Name, that he hath made me useful in my Generation to the Comfort and Relief of many Desolate Ones, and the Blessing of those that are ready to perill has come upon me, and being helpt to make the Heart of the Widow to sing. And I bless his holy Name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, I can approve my Heart to him, that I have done his Will ; tho' it does cross Man's will, and the Scriptures that satisfie me are, *Isa. 56. 4. Hide the Outcasts, bearay not him that wandereth.* And *Obad. 13, 14. Thou shouldst not have given up those of his that escape in the Day of his Distress.* But Man says, You shall give them up, or you shall dye for it. Now who to obey, judge ye. So that I have Cause to rejoyce and be exceeding glad, in that I suffer for Righteousness sake, and that I am accounted worthy to suffer for Well doing, and that God has accepted any Service from me, which has been done in Sincerity, tho' mixed with manifold Infirmities, which he hath been pleased for Christ's sake to cover and forgive. And now as concerning my Fault, as it is called, alas it was but a little one, and might well become a Prince to forgive ; but he that is no Mercy, shall find none : And I may say of it in the Language of *Jonathan, I did but taste a little Honey, and so I must die for it.* I d d but relieve an unworthy, poor, distressed Family, and so I must dye for it. Well, I desire in the Lamb-like Gospel-Spirit to forgive all that are concerned, and to say, Lord, lay it not their Charge ; but I fear he will not : Nay, I believe when he comes to make Inquisition for Blood, it will be found at the Door of the furious Judge ; who, because I could not remember Things through my Dauntedness at *Burton's* Wife's and Daughter's Vile acts and my Ignorance, took Advantage thereat, and would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am sure would have invalidated their Evidence ; tho' he granted something of the same Nature to another, yet denied it to me. My Blood will also be found at the Door of the unrighteous Jury, who found me Guilty upon the single Oath of an out-lawed Man ; for there was none but his Oath about the Money, who is no legal Witness, though he be pardoned, his Out-lawry cannot be recalled ; and also the Law requires two Witnesses in point of Life : And then about my going with him to the Place mentioned, 'twas by his own Words, before he was Out-lawed, for 'twas two Mouths after his absconding ; and tho' in a Proclamation, yet not High Treason, as I have heard ; so that I am clearly murdered by you. And also Bloody Mr. A. who has so insatiably hunted after my Life ; and thought it is no Profit to him, through the ill Will he bore me, lest no stone unturned, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this ; and shewed favour to *Burton*, who ought to have dyed for his own Fault, and not bought his Life with mine ; and Capt. R. who is cruel and severe to all under my Circumstances, and did at that time, without all Mercy or Pity, hasten my Sentence, and held up my Hand, that it might be given, all which, together with the Great One of all, by whose Power all these, and a Multitude more of Cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as against me ; but as it is done in an implacable Mind against the Lord Christ, and his righteous Cause and Followers, I leave it to him who is the Avenger of all such Wrongs, who will tread upon Princes as upon Mortar, and be terrible to the Kings of the Earth : And know this also, that though ye are seemingly fixt, and because of the Power in your Hand, are writing out your Violence, and dealing with a despightful Hand, because of the old and new Hatred ; by impoverishing and every way distressing those you have got under you ; yet unless you can secure Jesus Christ, and all his Holy Angels, you shall never do your Business, nor your Hands accomplish your Enterprizes ; for he will be upon you e'er you are aware ; and therefore, O that you would be wise, instructed and learn, is the Desire of her that finds no Mercy from you,

*Elizabeth Graunt.*

### *The Earl of Argyle.*

**WE** must now take a Step over into *Scotland*, that poor Country, which has been harassed and tired for these many Years, to render them perfect slaves, that they might help to enslave *England*, to prevent which, and secure the Protestant Religion, which 'twas grown impossible to do, but by Arms ; this good Lord embarked from *Holland* about the same Time with the Duke, and arrived in *Scotland* with what Forces he could make ; to which were added some others who joined him ; which after several Marches and Counter-marches, were at length led into a Boggy sort of a Place, on Pretence, or with Intention to bring him off from the other Army then upon the Heels of 'em, where they lost one another, dispersed and killed for themselves ; the Earl being taken by a Country-man, and brought to *Edinburgh*, where he suffered for his former unpardonable Crime—requiring Care should be taken of the Protestant Religion, and explaining his taking the Test conformable thereto ; for the Legality of which he had the Hands of the most eminent Lawyers about the City. He suffered at *Edinburgh* the 30th of *June*, 1695. His Speech has a great deal of Piety and Religion, nor will it be any Disgrace to lay, 'twas more like a Sermon. — 'Tis as follows.

*The*

*The Earl of Argyll's last Speech, June 30. 1685.*

**JOB** tells us, *Man that is born of a Woman, is of few Days, and full of Trouble; and I am a clear Instance of it.* I shall not say thing of my Sentence, or Escape about three years and a half ago; nor of my Return, lest I may thereby give Offence, or be too tedious: Only being to end my Days in your Presence, I shall, as some of my last Words, assert the Truth of the Matter of Faith, and the Sincerity of my Intentions, and Professions that are published.

That which I intend mainly now to say, is, To express my humble, and (I thank God) cheerful Submission to his Divine Will; and my Willingness to forgive all Men, even my Enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more Blood Spilt, and I shall with the Streams may stop at me: And that (if it please God) as to *Zerubbabel*, *Zech. 4. 6. Not by Might, nor by Power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.* I know Afflictions spring not out of the Dust: God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his special Providence brought me to this Place; and I hope none will either insult or stumble at it, seeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all Things well, for Good and holy Ends, tho' we not always understand it. Love and Hatred is not known by what is before us, *Eccl. 9. 1. & 8. 11, 12.*

Afflictions are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and are not only tolerable, but desirable. We ought to have a deep Reverence and Fear of God's Displeasure; but withal, a Hope and Dependence on him for a blessed Issue, in Compliance with his Will; for God chastens his own, to refine them, and not to ruin them, whatever the World may think, *Heb. 12. 3. to 12. Prov. 3. 11, 12. Mat. 10. 18. to 40. Mat. 16. 24. 1. 28.* We are to imitate our Saviour in his Sufferings, as *x Pet. 2. 23.* and *1 Pet. 16. to 20.* We are neither to despise our Afflictions, nor to faint under them; both are Extreams. We are not to suffer our Spirits to be exasperated against the Instruments of our Trouble; for the same Affliction may be an Effect of their Passion, and yet lent to God to punish us for our Sin: Though 'tis a Comfort when we may say to them with *David*, *Psal. 59. 3. Not for my Transgression, nor for my Sin, O Lord.* Nor are we, by fraudulent, pusillanimous Compliances in wicked Courts, to bring Sin upon our selves: Faint Hearts are ordinary fallible Hearts; chusing Sin rather than Sufferings, and a short Life with eternal Death, before temporal Death and a Crown of Glory. Such seeking to save a little, loses all; and God readily hardens them to proceed to their own Destruction. How many, like *Hazeel*, *2 Kings 9. 13.* run to Extremes they never thought they were capable of! Let Rulers and others read seriously, and weigh *Prov. 1. 10. to 20. 2 Chr. 28. 6. to 17. Prov. 24. 11, 12. and Prov. 28. 10.* and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

For me, I hope by God's Strength to join with *Jeh. Chap. 13. 15.* and the Psalmist, *Psal. 22. 4. and 16. 7.* and shall pray, as *Psal. 71. 19. to 24. and Psal. 122. 6. to 9. and Luke 1. 74. 75.* and shall hope, as *Psal. 94. 14, 15.* I do freely forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the Cause of my being brought to this Place, first or last; and I pray God forgive them. I pray God send Truth and Peace in these Three Kingdoms; and continue and increase the Glorious Light of the Gospel, and restrain the Spirit of Profanity, Atheism, Superstition, Popery and Persecution, and restore all that have back slidden from the Fidelity of their Life or Principles; and bless his whole People with all Blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an End to their present Trials. And I intreat all People to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, *Toat the great, good, and merciful God would sanctify my present Lot, and for Jesus Christ his sake pardon all my Sins, and receive me to his Eternal Glory.* It is suggested to me, That I have said nothing of the Royal Family; and it remembers me, that before the Judices at my Trial about the 1<sup>st</sup>, I said, That at my Death I would pray, That there should never want one of the Royal Family to be a Defender of the True, Ancient, Apostolick, Catholick, Protestant Faith, which I do now: And that GOD would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either luke-warm, or have shrunk from the Profession of it. And in all Events, I pray GOD may provide for the Security of his Church, that Antichrist, nor the Gates of Hell may never prevail against it.

Colonel RUMBOLD.

**A**T the same place died Colonel Richard Rumbold, June 20, 1695, most of what occurred considerable in his Defence and speech, you have had already in the *State's* of the Assassination. Two or three Passages more there are worth Remarks in the same, as Arguments of his Sense and Courage. *For this Cause, he says, we e every Hair of his Head and Beard a Life, he'd joyfully sacrifice 'em all.* That he was never Antimonarchical in his Principles, but for a King and free Parliament: the King having Power enough to make him great, and the people to make 'em happy. *[That he died in the Defence of the just Laws and Liberties of the Nations.]* *[That none was marked by God above another; for no Man came into the World with a Saddle on his Backs, nor others footed and spur'd to ride upon't.]* And being askt if he thought not his Sentence dreadful? Answered, *[He might be had a Limb for every Town in Christendom.]*

The next Place was *Lyme*, where many of Note died, particularly Col. Holmes, who was the first of those there executed, near the same place where they landed, when they came a-Shoar with the Duke of Monmouth, being brought to the Place after some Difficulty; for the Hories that were first put into the *Strage* would not stir, which obliged those concerned to get others, which



which they did from the Coach-man, who had that Morning brought them to Town; when they were put into the *Sledge*, they broke it in pieces, which caused the Prisoners to go on Foot to the place of Execution; where being come, as I told you before, the *Colonel* began thus at the Foot of the Ladder; He sat down with an Aspect altogether void of Fear, but on the contrary with a kind of smiling Countenance, so began to speak to the Spectators to this purpose. That he would give them an Account of his first Undertaking in the Design, which was long before in *London*; for there he agreed to stand by, and assist the Duke of *Monmouth*, when Opportunity offered; in order to which, he went to *Holland* with him, and there continued until this Expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good Mens Expectations: He believed the Protestant Religion was bleeding, and in a Step towards Extirpation, and therefore he with these his Brethren that were to suffer with him, and thousands more, had adventured their Lives and their All to save it; but God Almighty had not appointed 'em to be the Instruments in so glorious a Work; yet notwithstanding he did verily believe, and doubted not, but that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success, though the Way or Means was not yet visible, but of this he did not doubt: He also was satisfied of the Duke's Title, so that Matter did not afflict him on account of his engaging on his Score: And going on further with a Discourse of this Nature, he was asked by a Person, *Why he did not pray for the King?* He with a smiling Countenance answered, *I am sorry you do not yet understand the Difference between speaking and praying.* And having ended his Discourse, he then prepared himself by prayer for his Dissolution, which was very devout and pious for half an hour.

*Col. Holmes* in his Prayer not mentioning the King, he was charged as before; to which he replied, He prayed for him in general, praying for all Mankind: Thus fell the valiant and good Christian, *Col. Holmes*; his dying Words we have now found come to pass, he was much lamented by all that saw him, except by some, that 'tis feared, are delivered up to a leared Conscience.

#### *The Last Speech of Dr. Hicks.*

I am now going into that World, where many dark Things shall be made perfectly manifest and clear, and many doubtful Things fully resolved, and a plenary Satisfaction given concerning them; all Disputes and Mistakes concerning Treason, Rebellion, and Schism, shall be at an End, and cease for ever: Many Things that are innocent, lawful, and laudable, which have foul Marks and black Characters stamp'd and fix'd upon 'em here, they shall be perfectly purified, and fully cleansed from there; where at one View more shall be known of them, than by all wrangling Debates and eager Disputes, or by reading all Polemical Books concerning them here. I greatly deplore and bewail the greedy Appetite and insatiable Thirst, that professing Protestants have after the Flood of their Brethren, and the high pleasure they take in the Effusion thereof. But what will not Men do, when they are either judicially blinded, or their secular worldly Interest insensibly insinuates and winds it self into their Religion, is so twisted and incorporated with it, that it animates and acts it, is the Life and Soul, the vital Form and Power, and made wholly subservient thereunto.

My Lord *Jefferies*, after he had left *Bristol*, being come to the King to give an Account of his Affairs in the *West*, the Great Seal being to be disposed of, by the Death of the late Keeper, he kiss'd the King's Hand for it, and was made Lord Chancellor, which was only an Earnest of his Desert for so eminent and extraordinary a piece of Service; so now that which remains, is to give an Account of divers that had fled, and hid themselves up and down in Holes and Privacies, whose Friends made all Application to some great Men or other to procure their Pardons; some to this, and others to such as they thought Favourites of the King; but the Rewards must be ascertain'd before any Application could be made: Divers Lists being sent up, and the Rewards ascertained, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable; so that it was now who could find a Friend to relieve his distressed Relations, which were forced to wander up and down in Caves and Deserts for fear of being taken: But this Misfortune attended the Agents, that unless my Lord Chancellor were used, by his Creatures, that were allowed by him so to do; other Applications commonly met with Disappointments, which caused an Emulation among the great Men; one supposing to have deferred the King's Ear as well as the other, which caused other Measures to be taken, though some were wheedled out of their Money. At last came out a General Pardon, with Exceptions, very few, if any of those

that

that were solicited for, not being excepted, were of Course pardoned; but however, divers Sums of Money having been paid, no Restitution to be had, for from *Hell is no Redemption*. A *Western* Gentleman's Purchase came to fifteen or sixteen hundred Guineas, which my Lord Chancellor had. Amongst the Exceptions were a Parcel of *Taunton* Girls, some of which were Children of eight or ten Years old; however something was to be made of them, if these Ladies were judged guilty of Treason, for presenting the Duke of *Monmouth* with Colours, &c. and for to preserve these from Trial, they were given to Maids of Honour to make up their *Christmas-Box*; so that an Agent of theirs was sent down into the Country to compound with their Parents, to preserve them from what might after follow, if taken; so that some, according to Ability, gave 100 l. others 50 l. all which however did not answer the Ladies first Expectations; yet it did satisfy, and they were accordingly pardoned. Thus we have given you an Account of what hath happened on this Occasion, being in every Point Truth: We might have farther enlarged, but that would have spoiled the Design, and swoln our Pocket-Companion to a Volume too big.

We shall therefore next proceed to give you a true and exact List of all them that were condemned, and suffered in the *west*, in the Year 1685. under the Sentence of my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys*, with the Names of the Towns where every Man was executed.

**Lyme 12.** Col. Holmes, Mr. Batiscomb, Mr. William Hewling, Mr. Sampson Lark, Dr. Temple, Capt. Madders, Capt. Matthews, Mr. Joseph Tyler, Mr. William Cox, &c.

**Bath 6.** Walter Baker, Henry Body, Gerrard Bryant, Thomas Clotworthy, Thomas Collins, John Carter.

**Philips Norton 12.** Robert Cook, Edward Creaves, John Caswell, Thomas Hayward, John Hellier, Edward Beere, Henry Portridge, George Pether, Thomas Peirce, John Richards, John Staple, John Smith.

**Froome 12.** Francis Smith, Samuel Vill, alias Vile, Thomas Star, Philip Usher, Robert Beamant, William Clement, John Humphrey, George Hasty, Robert Man, Thomas Pearl, Laurence Lott, Thomas Lott.

**Bruton 3.** James Feildsen, Humphrey Braden, Richard Bole.

**Wincanton 6.** John Howel, Richard Harvey, John Tucker, William Holland, Hugh Holland, Thomas Bowden.

**Shepton-Mallet 13.** Stephen Mallet, Joseph Smith, John Gilham, Jun. Giles Bramble, Richard Chinn, William Cruise, George Pavier, John Hildworth, John Ashwood, Thomas Smith, John Dorchester, Senr. John Combe, John Groves.

**Wensford 12.** Roger Cornelius, John Starr, Humphrey Edwards, William Pierce, Arthur Sulway, George Adams, Henry Russel, George Knight, Robert Wine, William Clerk, alias Chick, Preston Bevis, Richard Finner.

**Wilton 3.** Alexander Key, David Boyse, Joshua French.

**Wells 8.** William Mead, Thomas Cade, Robert Doleman, Thomas Durston, John Sheperd, Abraham Bond, William Durston, William Plumley.

**Wideston 3.** William Ruscomb, Thomas Pierce, Robert Combe.

**Eaton upon Mendip 2.** Peter France, William Watkins.

**Charl 12.** Edward Foote, John Knight, William Williams, John Fervin, Humphrey Hitchcock, William Godfrey, Abraham Pill, William Davy, Henry Easterbrook, James Dennett, Edward Warren, Simon Cross.

**Crookern 10.** John Spore, Roger Burnoll, William Pether, James Evory, Robert Hill, Nicholas Adams, Richard Stephens, Robert Halsewell, John Busbet, William Lashy.

**Domerton** 7. William Gillet, Thomas Lissant, William Pocock, Christopher Stephens, George Canick, Robert Allen, Joseph Kelloway.

**Heobil** 8. Francis Foxwell, George Pitcher, Bernard Devereux, Bernard Thatcher for concealing Bouet, William Johnson, Thomas Hurford, Edward Gillard, Oliver Powel.

**Nethercote** 3. Humphrey Mitchell, Richard Culverell, Merrick Thomas.

**Dunfir** 3. Henry Lackwell, John Gomers, William Sully.

**Dulberton** 3. John Basely, John Lloyd, Henry Thompson.

**Widgematet** 12. Robert Fraunces, Nicholas Stodgell, Joshua Bellamy, William Moggeridge, John Hurman, Robert Roper, Richard Harris, Richard Eng-ram, John Truitt, Roger Guppey, Roger Hore, Isaac Davis.

**Ratcliffe-Hall at Bristol** 6. Richard Evans, John Tinckwell, Christopher Clerk, Edward Tippet, Philip Cambridge, John Tucker, alias Clover.

**Almminster** 12. Nicholas Collins, Sen. Stephen Newman, Robert Luckin, William Kitch, Thomas Burnard, William Wollen, John Parsons, Thomas Trooke, Robert Fawne, Western Hillary, John Burgen, Charles Speake.

**Wrotersey** 2. Hugh Ashley, John Herring.

**Wellington** 3. Francis Priest, Philip Bouet, Robert Reed.

**South-petherston** 3. Cornelius Furfurd, John Parsons, Thomas Davis.

**Worlock** 2. James Gale, Henry Edny.

**Clasenburg** 6. John Hicks, Richard Pearce, Israel Briant, William Mead. James Pyes, John Broome.

**Taunton** 19. Robert Perrot, Abraham Ansley, Benjamin Hewling, Peirce Murren, John Freake, John Savage, Abraham Matthews, William Senkyns, Henry Lisle, John Dryer, John Hucker, Jonathan England, John Sharpe, William De-verfon, John Williams, John Patrum, James Whitton, William Satchel, John Trickey.

**Langport** 3. Humphrey Peirce, Nicholas Venton, John Shellwood.

**Arbuidg** 6. Isaac Tripp, Thomas Burnell, Thomas Hillary, John Gill, Senior. Thomas Monday, John Butcher.

**Cutherslon** 2. Richard Bouet, Thomas Blackmore.

**Pinehead** 6. John Jones, alias Evens, Hugh Starke, Francis Bartlet, Peter Warren, Samuel Hawkins, Richard Sweet.

**Witchchester** 12. Hugh Goodenough, Samuel Cox, William Somerton, John Masters, John Walrand, David Langwell, Osmond Barret, Matthew Crofs, Edward Lurford, John Mortimer, John Stevens, Robert Townsden.

**Stogummer** 3. George Hillard, John Lockstone, Arthur Williams.

**Castlecarp** 3. Richard Ash, Samuel Garnish, Robert Hinde.

**Dilton-port** 2. Archibald Johnson, James Maxwell.

**Heingham** 11. Charles Chipman, Richard Bowden, Thomas Trok, Lewis Harris, Edward Halfwell, Howel Thomas, George Badol, Richard Evans, John Winter, Andrew Rownsden, John Phillekey.

10 JU 52

Suffer'd in all 251.

Besides those Hanged and Destroyed in cold Blood.

This Bloody Tragedy in the West being over, our Protestant Judge re-  
turns for London; soon after which Alderman Cornish felt the Anger of some  
Body behind the Curtain.

F I N I S.



